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DEFERRED TELEPOUCH

ACTION: OG/PCD-9 (014) INFO: ODDO-D, FILE, RF, CORECORD, (12/#)

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25X6

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CITE [REDACTED]

TO: WASHINGTON.

FOR: SGAAC INFO C/NE, C/NFAC/PLS

FROM: ~~SECRET~~25X6  
25X6 SUBJECT: [REDACTED]  
25X6

REF: [REDACTED]

25X6

[REDACTED] THERE WAS NOTHING  
 PARTICULARLY NEW OR SIGNIFICANT IN HIS OBSERVATIONS, BUT IT  
 IS INTERESTING TO RECEIVE A FIRST-HAND ACCOUNT OF LIFE IN TEHRAN.

25X6 2. ATMOSPHERICS- [REDACTED] SAID THAT DAILY ACTIVITIES IN TEHRAN  
 HAVE AN OUTWARDLY CALM APPEARANCE SHATTERED ONLY RECENTLY BY  
 STREET EXECUTIONS AND A NUMBER OF PUBLIC FLOGGINGS. SECURITY  
 FORCES SEEM TO BE MORE RELAXED DESPITE THE U.S. RESCUE ATTEMPT,  
 THAN THEY WERE DURING HIS TOY LAST SUMMER. AUTOMOBILE TRAFFIC  
 CONTINUES TO BE HEAVY AND CROWDS SEEM TO BE MILLING ABOUT IN  
 THE BAZAAR AS MUCH AS IN THE PAST. THERE IS SOME GRUMBLING  
 ABOUT HIGHER PRICES, SHORTAGES OF CERTAIN GOODS, AND LACK OF  
 SPARE PARTS FOR AUTOMOBILES AND MACHINERY. SOME WORK IS BEING  
 DONE ON SMALL CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS, BUT NOTHING ON THE UN-  
 FINISHED HIGH RISE BUILDINGS. RUNDLE SUSPECTS THAT THE GENERAL  
 ECONOMIC SITUATION IS MUCH WORSE THAN EVEN WE BELIEVE SINCE  
 NO UK EMBASSY OFFICIAL HAS VENTURED INTO SOUTH TEHRAN. THERE  
 ARE PERSISTENT STORIES THAT THE CITY'S POPULATION HAS GROWN BY  
 MORE THAN ONE MILLION PERSONS SINCE THE REVOLUTION. THERE ARE  
 ALSO RUMORS THAT WATER RATIONING WILL HAVE TO BE PUT INTO EFFECT  
 LATER THIS YEAR BECAUSE OF THIS INCREASE.

25X6 3. HOSTAGES- [REDACTED] BELIEVES THAT LOCAL INTEREST IN THE  
 HOSTAGES IS RAPIDLY FADING ESPECIALLY AS ATTENTION IS FOCUSED

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MORE AND MORE ON THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. [REDACTED] HAVE BEEN REPORTING THAT MOST OF THE HOSTAGES ARE STILL IN THE EMBASSY. [REDACTED] AGREES AND SAYS THEY HAVE REPORTS THAT AT LEAST THE TWO WOMEN ARE STILL THERE. ALTHOUGH HE AGREES THAT THERE HAS BEEN A MASSIVE DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN ABOUT MOVING THE HOSTAGES OUT OF TEHRAN, THE ONLY OTHER POSSIBLE LOCATIONS SEEM TO BE TABRIZ, MASHHAD, AND YAZD.

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4. [REDACTED] WALKED UP TO THE U.S. EMBASSY ONE DAY AND FOUND THE REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS RELAXED AND LOUNGING AROUND. A GUARD AT THE BIJAN GATE MADE AN UNFLATTERING REMARK ABOUT "THE AMERICANS," BUT OTHER THAN THAT [REDACTED] DID NOT RUN INTO ANY HOSTILITY. HE NOTICED THAT SOME ENERGETIC IRANIAN ARTISTS ARE PAINTING A MURAL ON THE EMBASSY'S FRONT WALL DEPICTING THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI AS WELL AS THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION. FORTUNATELY, IT IS A SHORT WALL.

5. SHAH'S DEATH [REDACTED] BELIEVES THERE IS STILL A STRONG FEELING AMONG MUCH OF THE POPULATION THAT THE SHAH IS REMAINING AND HIS WEALTH SHOULD BE RETURNED TO IRAN. THIS BEING SAID, MANY IRANIANS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE U.S. WILL KILL THE SHAH BEFORE HE IS RETURNED; SO THEY EXPECT THE INEVITABLE ANNOUNCEMENT IN CAIRO. [REDACTED] CONCLUDES, THEREFORE, THAT THE IRANIANS HAVE SHIFTED THEIR "ANIMUS" FROM THE SHAH TO THE U.S. HE STILL BELIEVES, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WILL BE NO SETTLEMENT OF THE HOSTAGE PROBLEM FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE UNLESS AT LEAST THE SHAH'S FORTUNE IS RETURNED.

6. BANI-SADR VS. BEHESHTI [REDACTED] BELIEVES THAT THE EVIDENCE IS QUITE CLEAR THAT BEHESHTI IS WINNING THE STRUGGLE. HE CAME AWAY WITH ALMOST A FEELING OF DEJA VU--LAST SUMMER'S STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE BAZARGAN MODERATES AND THE CLERGY. BANI-SADR, WHILE WELL INTENTIONED IS INEPT, HAS NO POWER BASE, AND DOES NOT HAVE THE SUPPORT OF ANY ARMED GROUP. BEHESHTI HAS BEATEN BANI-SADR TO THE PUNCH ON ALMOST EVERY OCCASION AND HAS THE CHALLENGER ON THE ROPE. MOREOVER, THE CURRENT CULTURAL REVOLUTION, AS ADVOCATED BY KHOMEINI, WORKS TO BEHESHTI'S ADVANTAGE BECAUSE HE AND THE HARDLINE CLERGY LOOK MORE LIKE SELF-CONFIDENT REVOLUTIONARIES THAN THOSE WHO WOULD PREACH HUMAN RIGHTS AND MODERATION.

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25X6 7. PRIME MINISTER [ ] HAD NO IDEA BECAUSE THE ISSUE WILL OBVIOUSLY BE RESOLVED BEHIND THE SCENES, MOST LIKELY TO BEHESHTI'S SATISFACTION. HE WAS SKEPTICAL ABOUT HASSAN HABIBI-- A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE CANDIDATE--BECAUSE OF THE TWO PERSONS WHO VOTED FOR HIM, FOR PRESIDENT. ONE WAS IN WASHINGTON. THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO CHANCE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WILL BE MORE IMPORTANT THAN BEHESHTI.

25X6 8. THE LEFT [ ] BELIEVES THAT KHOMEINI'S RECENT CRACK-DOWN HAS THE LEFT IN DISARRAY. HE SAID THAT AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS TDY, THE FEDAYEEN AND MUJAHADIN HAD BEEN SELLING LITERATURE JUST OUTSIDE OF THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS AND WERE PARTICIPATING IN SOME SMALL DEMONSTRATIONS. DURING RECENT WEEKS, HOWEVER, THEY HAVE BEEN DRIVEN UNDERGROUND AGAIN. LIKE OUR OWN ASSESSMENT, HE EXPECTS URBAN TERRORISM TO INCREASE AS A RESULT OF THE LEFT'S ISOLATION.

9. HE SAID THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT SPLINTER GROUPS OF THE FEDAYEEN ARE MAKING ARRANGEMENTS WITH LIKEMINDED MEMBERS OF THE KDP AND TUDEH PARTIES. THESE ARE SMALL SCALE ALLIANCES, HOWEVER, ARE NOT PART OF A GROWING TREND, AND ARE NO THREAT TO THE KHOMEINI REGIME AT THIS POINT. AS TIME GOES BY AND THE TUDEH PARTY IS OUTLAWED, SUCH ALLIANCES WILL BECOME MORE IMPORTANT. WE ARE AGREED THAT, UNLESS SOMETHING COMPLETELY UNFORESEEN OCCURS, THE LEFT IS NOT AN IMMEDIATE THREAT TO THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC--CERTAINLY NOT IN THE FIRST ROUND OF POST-KHOMEINI FIGHTING.

25X6 10. KHOMEINI-- [ ] IMPRESSION THAT KHOMEINI IS AN OLD AND SICK MAN, BUT FOR THE PRESENT, THE OLD MAN IS FEELING GREAT AND IS THOROUGHLY RELISHING THE SPOTLIGHT. KHOMEINI'S SPEECHES AND PUBLIC APPEARANCES HAVE BEEN MUCH MORE ANIMATED AND HE APPARENTLY IS PERSONALLY GREETING EVERY VISITING DELEGATION. [ ] MADE THE POINT THAT KHOMEINI'S TEMPORARY GOOD HEALTH IS A DIRECT THREAT TO BANI-SADR. THE OLD MAN--PRESUMABLY EGGED ON BY HIS NAIVE, CLERICAL ENTOURAGE--FOCUSES ON MINOR DETAILS RATHER THAN THE BIG PICTURE. HE COULD REALLY CARE LESS THAT THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY IS FALTERING--BANI-SADR'S THEME; HE IS MUCH MORE INTERESTED IN ELIMINATING THE ROYAL SEAL FROM LETTERHEADS AND DRESSING WORKING WOMEN IN CHADORS. THERE IS A TIMELESS QUALITY TO HIS THINKING THAT SETS NO DEADLINE FOR

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POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION OR ECONOMIC REVIVAL. NOW THAT HE IS TEMPORARILY HEALTHY AND BUSY MAKING ALL KINDS OF PRONOUNCEMENTS, THEY TEND TO BE OF THIS VARIETY RATHER THAN REMEDIES FOR THE COUNTRY'S REAL PROBLEMS.

11. THESE PRONOUNCEMENTS, OF COURSE, ARE ANATHEMA TO BANISADR WHO MUST SECRETLY BELIEVE THAT THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IS BUNK. ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY FALL INTO THE LAPS OF BEKHESHTI AND THE REVOLUTIONARY ZEALOTS WHO CAN USE THE SAME EDICTS TO STIR UP THE MESBOLLAHI AND UNDERMINE THE WESTERN EDUCATED MODERATES AND THE PRESIDENT.

12. ~~KHOMEINI'S STATEMENTS ARE GIVEN EXTENSIVE PLAY IN THE MEDIA, ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THEY ARE READ AT LEAST THREE TIMES A DAY AFTER EACH TV AND RADIO NEWS BROADCAST. NEWSPAPERS PLAY HIS REMARKS IN BANNER HEADLINES AND MULLAHS LEAD DISCUSSIONS AT FRIDAY SERVICES. THE POINT HERE IS THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH TEHRAN INTERPRET KHOMEINI'S REMARKS LITERALLY, WHEREAS THE MIDDLE CLASS IN NORTH TEHRAN WOULD LIKE TO IGNORE THEM IF POSSIBLE. RIGHT NOW, THE SOUTH TEHRAN MOB IS IN CONTROL; THUS WOMEN'S RIGHTS, LIVE MUSIC, TAPED MUSIC, AND FREE SPEECH ARE ELIMINATED. ALL OF THIS IS REALLY NOT NEW EXCEPT THAT NOW, BEKHESHTI AND THE HARDLINE CLERGY SEEM TO BE HAVING MORE SUCCESS IN DIRECTING THE MOB--IN THE NAME OF THE REVOLUTION--TO REALLY STAMP OUT THE WESTERN EDUCATED MODERATES, THE LEFT, AND ANYONE ELSE IN THEIR WAY.~~

13. CONCLUDING REMARKS--[REDACTED] WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT HAVING THE HOSTAGES FREED THIS YEAR--CERTAINLY NOT UNTIL AFTER THE U.S. ELECTIONS IN NOVEMBER. HE IS CONVINCED THAT THE HOSTAGES WILL BE TRIED--EITHER AS CRIMINALS OR AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S. MOST WILL BE RELEASED, BUT THERE IS A STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT SOME WILL BE JAILED FOR AN UNCERTAIN TERM. THE U.S. WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO MAKE SOME SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS FOR ANY HOSTAGE RELEASE INCLUDING APOLOGIES, RETURNING THE SHAH'S FORTUNE, AND LIFTING SANCTIONS AS A PRECONDITION. A SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE THE GROWING BELIEF IN TEHRAN THAT ONCE THE HOSTAGES ARE RELEASED, THE U.S. MIGHT NUKE QDM. THAT MAKES IT A CATCH-22 SITUATION IN WHICH THERE ARE COMPELLING REASONS FOR RELEASING THE HOSTAGES AND AN EQUAL ARGUMENT FOR KEEPING THEM.

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14. WE AGREED THAT BEHESHTI WILL PROBABLY DEFEAT BANI-SADR IN THE CURRENT STRUGGLE, BUT THAT ABSOLUTE VICTORY FOR THE CLERICS MAY NOT NECESSARILY BE ALL BAD. BEHESHTI, AFTER ALL, HAS BEEN USING THE HOSTAGES TO ATTACK BANI-SADR. ONCE THE PRESIDENT IS ELIMINATED AS A POLITICAL FORCE, BEHESHTI WILL HAVE TO BEGIN PAYING ATTENTION TO THE REAL PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY AND MAY CONCLUDE, AS HE DID IN THE PAST, THAT THE HOSTAGE PROBLEM HAS TO BE ELIMINATED.

15. WE BOTH LAMENTED THE FACT THAT WE DO NOT HAVE A SOURCE CLOSE ENOUGH TO KHOMEINI TO GIVE US AN IDEA WHERE THE OLD MAN GETS HIS IDEAS AND WHO ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF HIS COURAGE. [REDACTED] IS CONVINCED, HOWEVER, THAT KHOMEINI MERELY REFLECTS THE THOUGHTS OF THE LAST PERSON HE HAS SEEN AND THEN SHOOT FROM THE HIP. THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NOTHING THAT WILL CHANGE THIS SITUATION EXCEPT TERMINAL ILLNESS. IN A SENSE, THEREFORE, READ KHOMEINI AND YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THE REVOLUTION, BUT DON'T SERIOUSLY LOOK FOR ANY UNDERLYING CONCEPT OR THEME OTHER THAN HIS BELIEF IN ISLAM AND HATRED OF THE SHAH AND THE WEST.

16. [REDACTED] IS CONVINCED THAT AYATOLLAH MONTAZARI WILL BE KHOMEINI'S RELIGIOUS SUCCESSOR, BUT MONTAZARI DOESN'T HAVE THE MUSCLE OR FOLLOWING TO LAST LONG. MONTAZARI REPORTEDLY DOES NOT HAVE A COMMANDING PRESENCE AND SPEAKS IN A HIGH, SQUEAKY VOICE-- ALREADY THE BUTT OF MANY JOKES.

17. I WAS AGAIN IMPRESSED WITH [REDACTED] HE IS PERCEPTIVE AND HE WAS ON THE SCENE IN TEHRAN. I THINK HE WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE US WITH USEFUL INSIGHT AND HE IS MAKING AN EFFORT TO INTRODUCE ME TO THE REST OF THE IRANIAN EXPERTS [REDACTED] HE IS VERY MUCH INTERESTED IN SHIA ISLAM. I THOUGHT THAT [REDACTED] RECENT STUDY AND A YES-FORN VERSION OF [REDACTED] OPUS WOULD BE USEFUL TO PASS ON TO HIM. COULD HQS PROVIDE US WITH THESE TWO ITEMS TO PASS TO [REDACTED]

18. RVW 11 JUL 10 DRV D9B.1

END OF MESSAGE

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